

## Message Text

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PAGE 01 STATE 073554  
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APPROVED BY: WCHARROP: AF

S/S-O: DROBINSON

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY MOGADISCIO IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 073554

EXDIS FOR MOOSE

FOLLOWING REPEAT MAPUTO 0333 SENT ACTION SECSTATE INFO DAR ES  
SALAAM LAGOS LONDON LUSAKA PRETORIA CAPE TOWN USUN MAR 21.

QUOTE C O N F I D E N T I A L MAPUTO 0333

EXDIS

CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

E.O. 11652: XGDS-3

TAGS: PDEV, MZ, RH

SUBJECT: RHODESIA: PROFESSOR FOLTZ DELIVERS MUZOREWA'S REPLY  
TO MACHEL

REF: (A) PRETORIA 1579 (NOTAL); (B) MAPUTO 0262 (NOTAL)

1. SUMMARY. MACHEL WAS AMUSED, TWEAKED AND CHALLENGED BY MU-  
ZOREWA'S MARCH 19 LETTER (REFTEL A). MACHEL WISHES SEND ONE MORE  
MESSAGE TO MUZOREWA VIA FOLTZ, BUT I BELIEVE PURPOSE OF SECOND  
LETTER IS TO DISPUTE SOME OF MUZOREWA'S CHARGES RATHER THAN TO TRY  
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YET ANOTHER TIME TO LURE MUZOREWA AWAY FROM INTERNAL SETTLEMENT.  
MACHEL CONCLUDED FROM MUZOREWA'S LETTER THAT NEW GOVERNMENT IN  
RHODESIA IS PLANNING TO CONTINUE TO WAGE WAR AGAINST MOZAMBIQUE.  
MACHEL'S REMARK THAT MOZAMBIQUE WOULD HAVE TO GET READY TO RE-  
SPOND TO THIS CHALLENGE HAD SOMETHING OF OMINOUS TONE. MACHEL  
LASHED OUT AT BRITISH, WHOM HE ACCUSES OF COOPERATING WITH SMITH  
AND ABANDONING THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PLAN. IN THE CIRCUMSTANCES,

MACHEL SAID BEST THING FL STATES MIGHT DO WOULD BE TO ABANDON AAP AS WELL. WHAT APPEARS TO BE HOLDING MACHEL BACK IS REPORT HE SAID HE HAD RECEIVED FROM MUGABE AND NKOMO THAT ON BASIS THEIR RECENT TALKS WITH VANCE, YOUNG AND OWEN THEY PERCEIVE SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCE BETWEEN UK AND U.S. POSITIONS. END SUMMARY.

2. BILL FOLTZ RETURNED TO MAPUTO LAST NIGHT. MEETING WITH MACHEL WAS ARRANGED FOR FIRST THING THIS MORNING. PRESIDENTIAL AIDES SERGIO VIEIRA AND FERNANDO HONWANA PARTICIPATED IN MEETING WHICH LASTED ABOUT 45 MINUTES.

3. FOLTZ BEGAN BY DESCRIBING HIS MEETING WITH MUZOREWA, WHICH TOOK PLACE AT MUZOREWA'S RESIDENCE IN SALISBURY A FEW HOURS AFTER THE MAMMOTH MARCH 19 WELCOME HOME RALLY FOR MUZOREWA. FOLTZ REPORTED THAT HIS MEETING WITH MUZOREWA WAS PRIVATE, THAT HE HAD OPPORTUNITY TO MAKE ALL THE POINTS MACHEL WANTED MADE AND THAT MUZOREWA UNDERSTOOD IMPORTANCE OF MESSAGE. FOLTZ PRODUCED LETTER, WHICH MUZOREWA ASKED FOLTZ TO GIVE TO MACHEL. FOLTZ NOTED THAT MUZOREWA HAD DELIBERATELY LEFT LETTER UNSEALED, HAD ASSUMED THAT FOLTZ WOULD READ IT, AND THAT HE (FOLTZ) HAD SHOWN LETTER ONLY TO ME.

4. HONWANA THEN PROCEEDED TO TRANSLATE LETTER, IN COURSE OF WHICH MACHEL WOULD FROM TIME TO TIME SMILE KNOWINGLY TO VIEIRA AND HONWANA, ALMOST AS IF THEY WERE NOT TAKING EVERYTHING MUZOREWA WROTE SERIOUSLY. AT THE POINT IN LETTER WHERE MUZOREWA WROTE CONFIDENTIAL

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THAT IT WAS UNFAIR OF MACHEL TO HAVE WITHHELD HIS MESSAGE TO MUZOREWA UNTIL AFTER MUZOREWA HAD SIGNED THE INTERNAL ACCORD, MACHEL TURNED TO ME AND RECALLED THAT IT WAS ON FEBRUARY 10, SOME DAYS BEFORE THE INTERNAL ACCORD WAS SIGNED, THAT HE HAD FIRST APPROACHED UK AND U.S. TO HELP FIND INTERMEDIARY FOR HIM. I ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THIS WAS THE CASE, BUT NOTED THAT THIS WAS ONLY FIVE DAYS PRIOR TO ANNOUNCEMENT THAT AGREEMENT HAD BEEN REACHED IN PRINCIPLE ON INTERNAL ACCORD. FOLTZ SAID HE COULD GET MESSAGE TO MUZOREWA INFORMING HIM THAT MACHEL SOUGHT TO CONTACT HIM AS EARLY AS FEBRUARY 10. MACHEL SAID HE WOULD LIKE FOLTZ TO DO THIS FOR HIM.

5. MACHEL ALSO INTERRUPTED THE TRANSLATION AT POINT IN LETTER WHERE MUZOREWA WROTE THAT HE HOPED "WE WILL NEVER BE PUT IN A POSITION WHERE AN INDEPENDENT ZIMBABWE WILL FIGHT INDEPENDENT MOZAMBIQUE FOR THE SAKE OF INDIVIDUALS." MACHEL SAID IT CLEAR TO HIM FROM THIS THAT THE NEW INTERNAL ACCORD LEADERS WERE ALREADY PLANNING TO CONTINUE THE WAR AGAINST MOZAMBIQUE, IN WHICH CASE MOZAMBIQUE MUST ALSO GET READY. IT WILL NO LONGER BE SMITH INVADING MOZAMBIQUE, HE SAID, BUT THE NEW GOVERNMENT. THE ATTACK WILL BE BY BLACKS. THEN PAUSING, MACHEL SAID: "I NOW AM MUCH CLEARER ON WHAT IS HAPPENING IN RHODESIA."

6. UPON COMPLETION OF TRANSLATION OF LETTER, FOLTZ TOOK OPPORTUNITY TO RELATE TO MACHEL THREE IMPRESSIONS HE WAS LEFT WITH AFTER HIS WEEK IN SALISBURY. THESE WERE: THAT SMITH DEFINITELY WOULD LEAVE POLITICAL OFFICE AFTER DECEMBER 31; THAT MUZOREWA, SITHOLE AND PERHAPS EVEN CHIRAU INTENDED DURING THEIR FIRST WEEKS IN OFFICE TO PRESS HARD FOR RAPID AND SIGNIFICANT CHANGES (AMONG OTHER THINGS, IN AREAS OF EDUCATION, HEALTH AND PROTECTED VILLAGES); AND THAT WHITES ARE NOT PREPARED MENTALLY FOR WHAT IS ABOUT TO HIT THEM. FOLTZ ALSO GAVE HIS VIEW THAT MUZOREWA HAS GROWN IN STATURE OVER PAST FEW MONTHS AND THAT MUZOREWA DOES NOT WISH TO SEE ZIMBABWE DEPENDENT ON SOUTH AFRICA AND IS LOOKING FOR AN ALTERNATIVE TO SOUTH AFRICAN DEPENDENCE. MACHEL THOUGHT THAT RHODESIA WOULD CONTINUE TO LOOK TO SOUTH AFRICA FOR SUPPORT. AS  
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FOR SMITH'S DEPARTURE IN DECEMBER, MACHEL SAID THAT EVEN IF THIS DID HAPPEN, THE STRUCTURE OF WHITE MINORITY RULE WOULD REMAIN. THIS HAD TO BE DESTROYED.

7. MACHEL'S MAJOR CRITICISM OF THE MORNING WAS DIRECTED NOT AGAINST MUZOREWA OR SMITH BUT THE BRITISH. "THE DIFFICULT ELEMENT NOW IS LONGER SMITH, BUT THE UK. BRITISH BEHAVIOR IS REPREHENSIBLE. THEY LEAVE THE ANGLO AMERICAN PLAN WITH US, BUT COOPERATE WITH SMITH." MACHEL OBSERVED THAT WHEN NYERERE WAS IN THE US, PRESIDENT CARTER HAD ASSURED NYERERE THAT THE ANGLO AMERICAN SETTLEMENT WOULD PROVIDE FOR THE REMOVAL OF THE SMITH REGIME AND THAT INDEPENDENT ZIMBABWEAN ARMY WOULD BE BASED ON THE LIBERATION FORCES. NOW THE UK WAS ABANDONING THESE PRINCIPLES. "THE UK SHOULD ADMIT OPENLY THAT THEY ARE NO LONGER INTERESTED IN PURSUING THE AAP. IN THE CIRCUMSTANCES, THE BEST THING THE FRONT LINE MIGHT DO WOULD BE TO SCRAP THE PLAN ENTIRELY." WHAT MAY BE HOLDING HIM BACK IS THE REPORT HE SAID HE HAD RECEIVED FROM MUGABE AND NKOMO, FOLLOWING THEIR RECENT TALKS WITH VANCE, YOUNG AND OWEN. THAT THERE ARE "GREAT DIFFERENCES" BETWEEN THE US AND UK POSITIONS.

8. BEFORE MEETING CONCLUDED, MACHEL SAID HE WOULD WANT TO READ THE LETTER AGAIN CAREFULLY. AFTER ALL, IT WAS AN "IMPORTANT DOCUMENT." HE TOLD FOLTZ THAT HE WOULD LIKE TO REPLY TO MUZOREWA, AND DIRECTED VIEIRA AND HONWANA TO WORK ON THE REPLY THIS AFTERNOON. FOLTZ AGREED TO DELIVER MACHEL'S MESSAGE, BUT NOTED HE HAD TO RETURN TO PRETORIA IMMEDIATELY. MACHEL ASKED IF THE EMBASSY COULD TRANSMIT HIS REPLY TO FOLTZ IN SOUTH AFRICA. I SAID WE WOULD.

9. COMMENT WE WILL HAVE MACHEL MORE CONSIDERED  
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REACTION TO MUZOREWA'S LETTER WHEN VIEIRA AND HONWANA DELIVER MACHEL'S REPLY TO THE EMBASSY FOR TRANSMISSION TO FOLTZ. THAT SHOULD BE THIS EVENING OR TOMMORROW, IT IS MY IMPRESSION THAT MACHEL PURPOSE IN RESPONDING TO MUZOREWA'S LETTER IS NOT TO HAVE A SECOND TRY AT LURING MUZOREWA AWAY FROM THE INTERNAL ACCORD. WHICH MACHEL PROBABLY REALIZES IS IMPOSSIBLE BUT RATHER TO RESPOND TO SOME OF MUZOREWA'S CHARGES OF ILL TREATMENT, WHICH COULD BE EMBARRASSING TO MACHEL IF LEFT UNCORRECTED.

10. MACHEL'S ATTACK THIS MORNING ON THE BRITISH WAS EXCEEDINGLY BITTER AND UNREMITTING. THE PAST, MACHEL HAS EXPRESSED DOUBTS AND DISAPPOINTMENT WITH THE BRITISH. BUT NEVER SO CAUSTICALLY AS THIS MORNING. IT WILL TAKE SOME HIGH LEVEL DOING IF THE BRITISH HOPE TO MOLLIFY HIM.

11. WHILE THERE WAS NO CRITICISM OF THE US THIS MORNING, WE SHOULD NOT CONCLUDE FROM THIS THAT MACHEL IS PLEASED WITH THE US RESPONSE TO THE INTERNAL ACCORD. ON THE CONTRARY, HE HAS ALREADY TOLD US THAT HE IS DISAPPOINTED WE HAVE NOT BEEN MORE FORTHRIGHT IN ANNOUNCING OUR CONTINUED SUPPORT FOR THE ANGLO AMERICAN PLAN. COMPARED TO THE BRITISH, HOWEVER, WE SEEM TO LOOK GOOD TO MACHEL. HE APPEARS TO THINK THAT THE US CAN STILL BE SALVAGED, WHILE HE TALKED THIS MORNING AS IF HE HAS ALREADY WRITTEN OFF THE BRITISH.  
DE PREE UNQUOTE VANCE

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## Message Attributes

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